

Prime Minister	Year /Tenure	Government
Narsimha Rao	1991 – 96 5 years	Congress with 232 seats & other regional parties. Open allegations of pay-offs to JMM members to win vote on no confidence motion.
Vajpayee	1996 15 days	BJP (180 seats) could not rope in other parties
Deve Gowda	1996 – 97 11 months	Coalition of 14 parties led by Janata Dal supported from outside by Congress (127 seats). Collapsed when support withdrawn by Congress.
I. K. Gujral	1997 – 98 10 months	United Front Coalition of 16 parties supported from outside by Congress (127 seats). Same fate as Deve Gowda when Congress withdrew support.

MID – TERM ELECTIONS 1998

Vajpayee	1998 15 months	NDA led by BJP (182 seats) & 21 other parties. Collapsed due to withdrawal of support by Jayalalitha. (AIADMK – 18 seats)
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MID – TERM ELECTIONS 1999

-do-	1999-2004	NDA coalition of 23 parties (296 seats) led by BJP (182 seats)
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Prime Minister /Year/ Tenure

Government

Manmohan Singh
2004 – 2009
5 years

UPA consisting of Congress with 184 seats & 21 other parties. Also supported by CPM from outside. Managed to survive when CPM withdrew support as Indo-American Civil Nuclear deal. Mulayam Singh Yadav stepped in to save the Govt. (Price extracted as withdrawal of disproportionate assets case initiated by CBI in Supreme Court)

-do-
2009 onwards

UPA led by Congress with 206 seats and DMK- 18 seats, NCP-9, TC-19, TMM-2, NC-3, RJP-4, Others -5. Virtual spectator Ministerships distributed as largesse as per coalition parties choice. Allowed to siphon off money without any control. 'Compromises have to be made in coalition.' (P.M.'s speech in press conference in Feb. 2011). At what cost? (Rs.1.76 Lakh crore Telecom Scandal involving great Raja & his Colleagues!)

When Mamata withdrew the support, Mulayam Singh & Mayawati stepped in to support. **Support at what price !**

STABILITY – State level

Record even more dismal

Our largest State UP (Period : 1995 – 2002)

6 Govts. which included 3 spells of Mayawati besides Kalyan Singh, Rajnath Singh etc. and President's rule in between on two occasions.

Earlier record of 8 govts in 7 yrs (1967-1974) still unbroken. (This included 2 spells of Mayawati besides Kalyan Singh, Rajnath Singh etc. and President's rule in between on two occasions.)

(contd.)

Smaller States, still worse

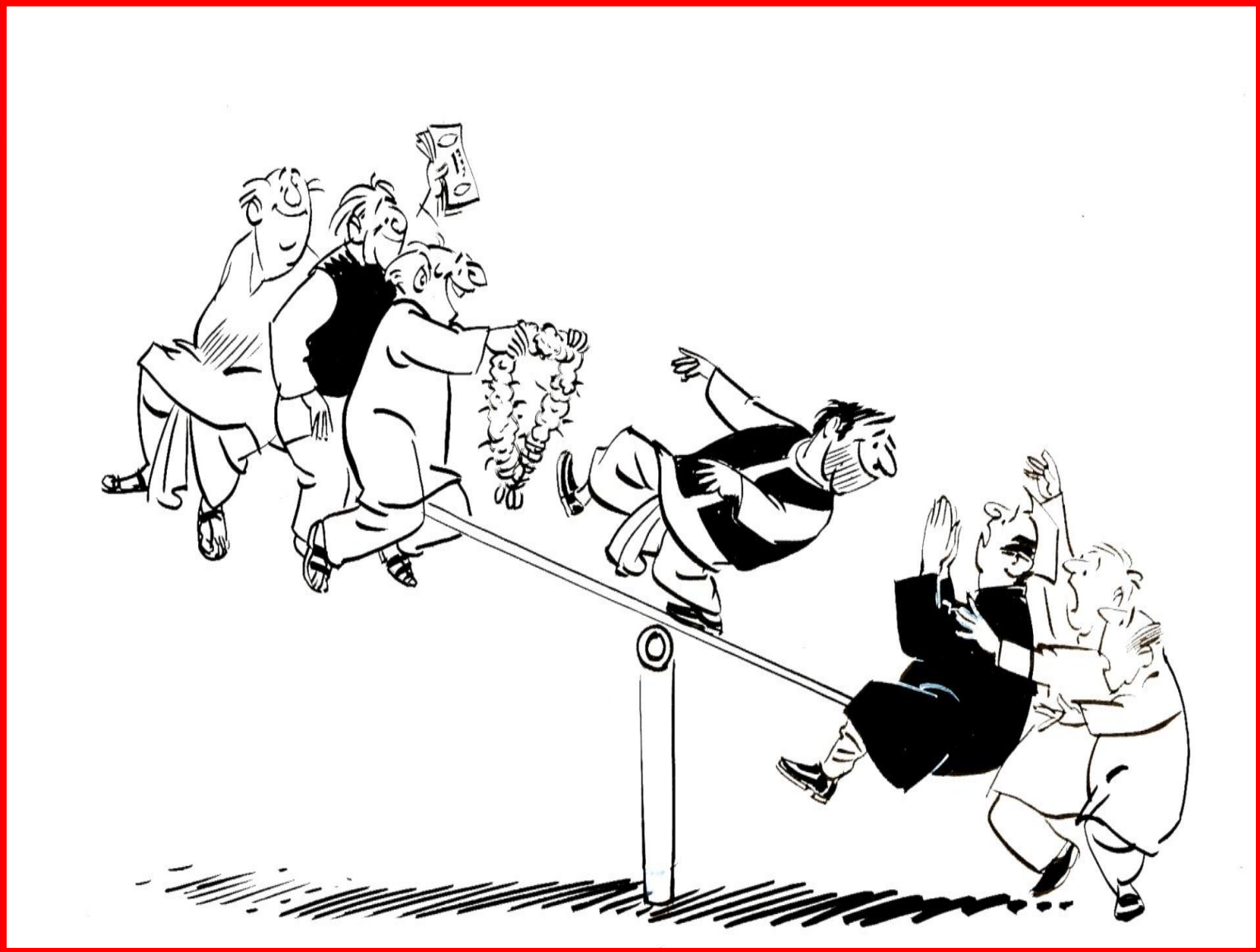
Meghalaya (Period : 1992 – 2007)

12 Govts. in a 15 year period

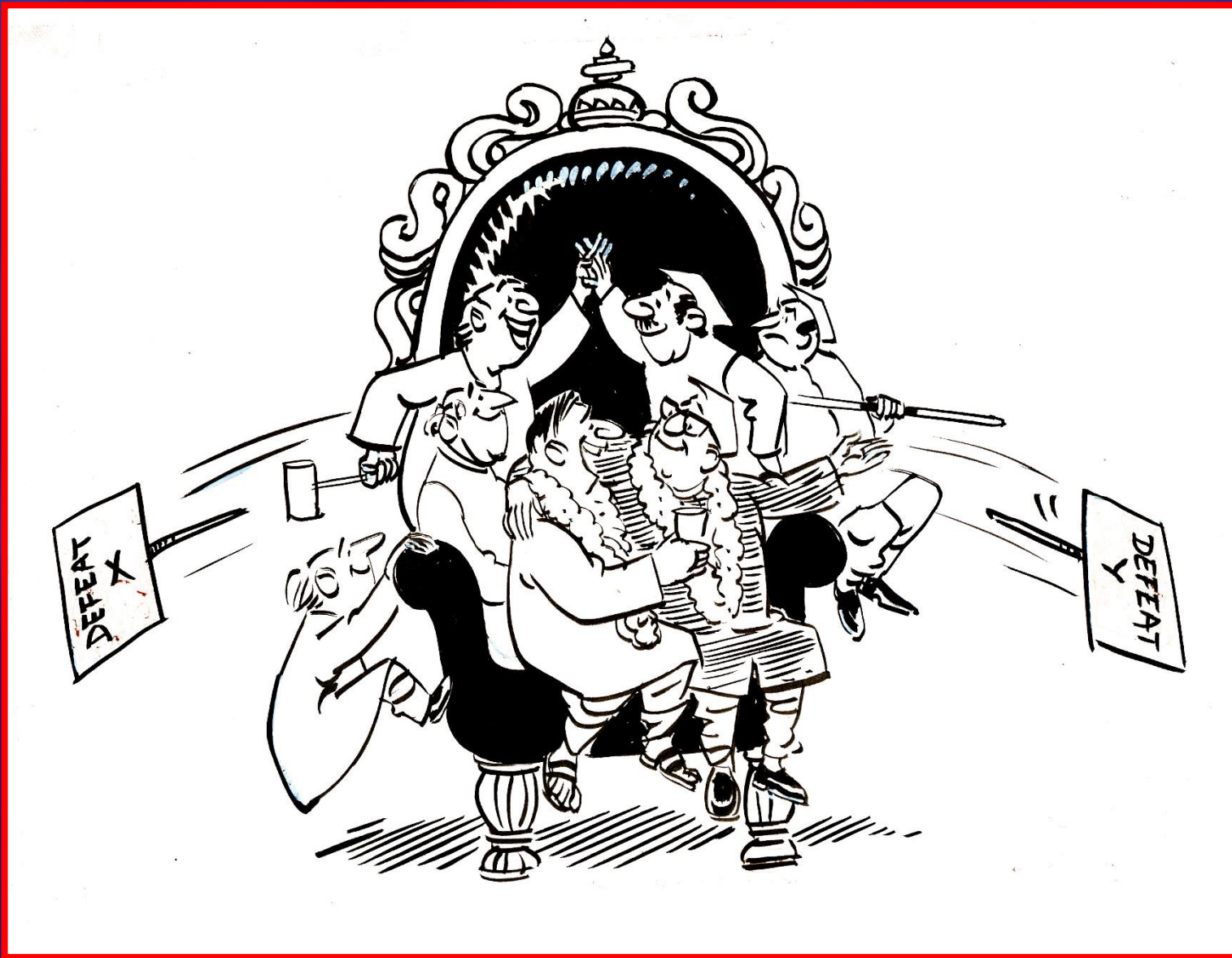
Goa (Period : 1990-2000)

14 Govts. in a 10 yr period. Pratap Singh Rane, Dr. Wilfred D'Souza, Ravi Naik rotated post of Chief Minister 7 times among themselves.

The above are only few illustrative examples.



Political see-saw !



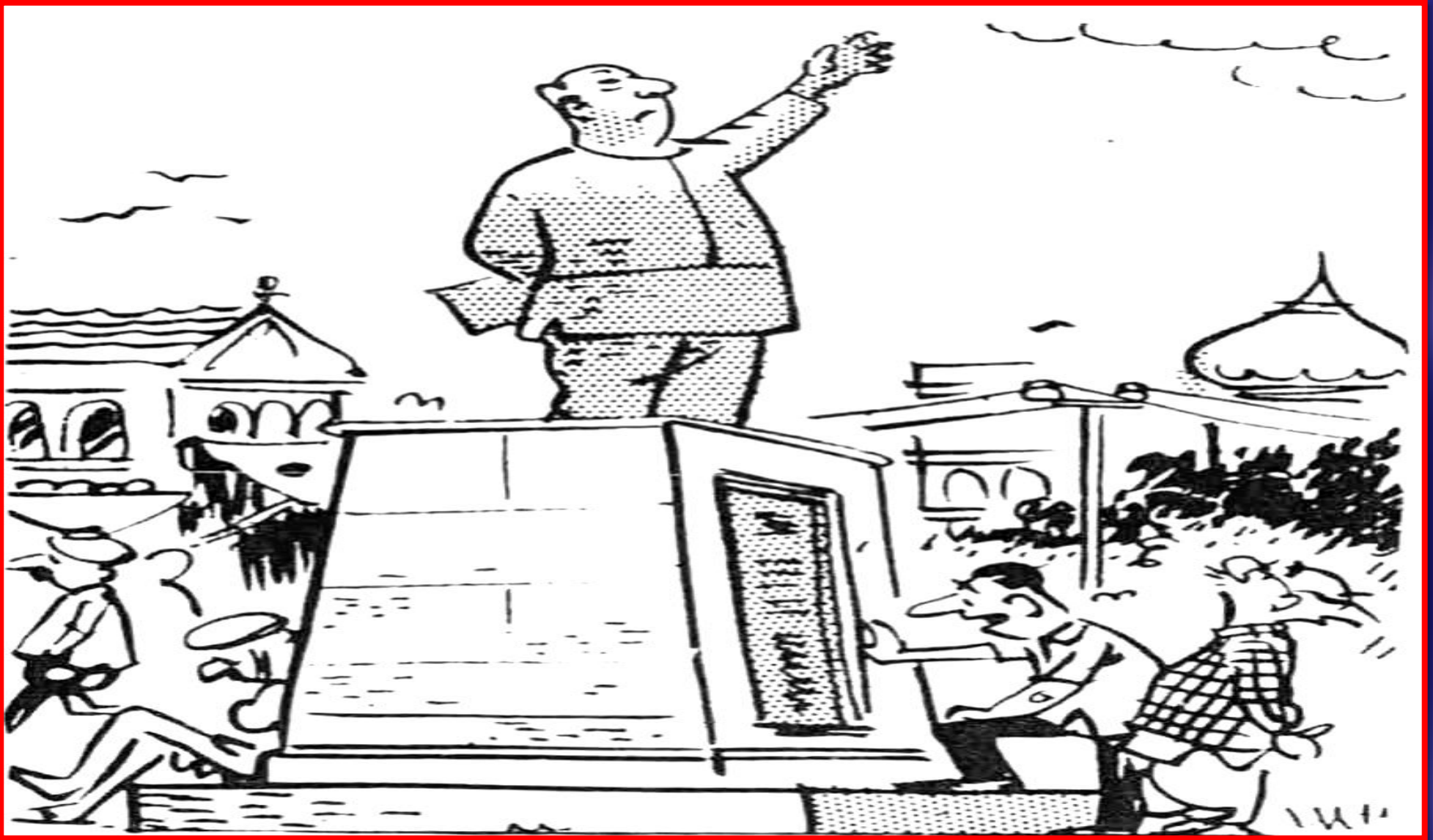
Enemies Zindabad !



Collapsible Support !



This is becoming a nuisance, a code must be evolved so that no government can be toppled for at least a couple of months!

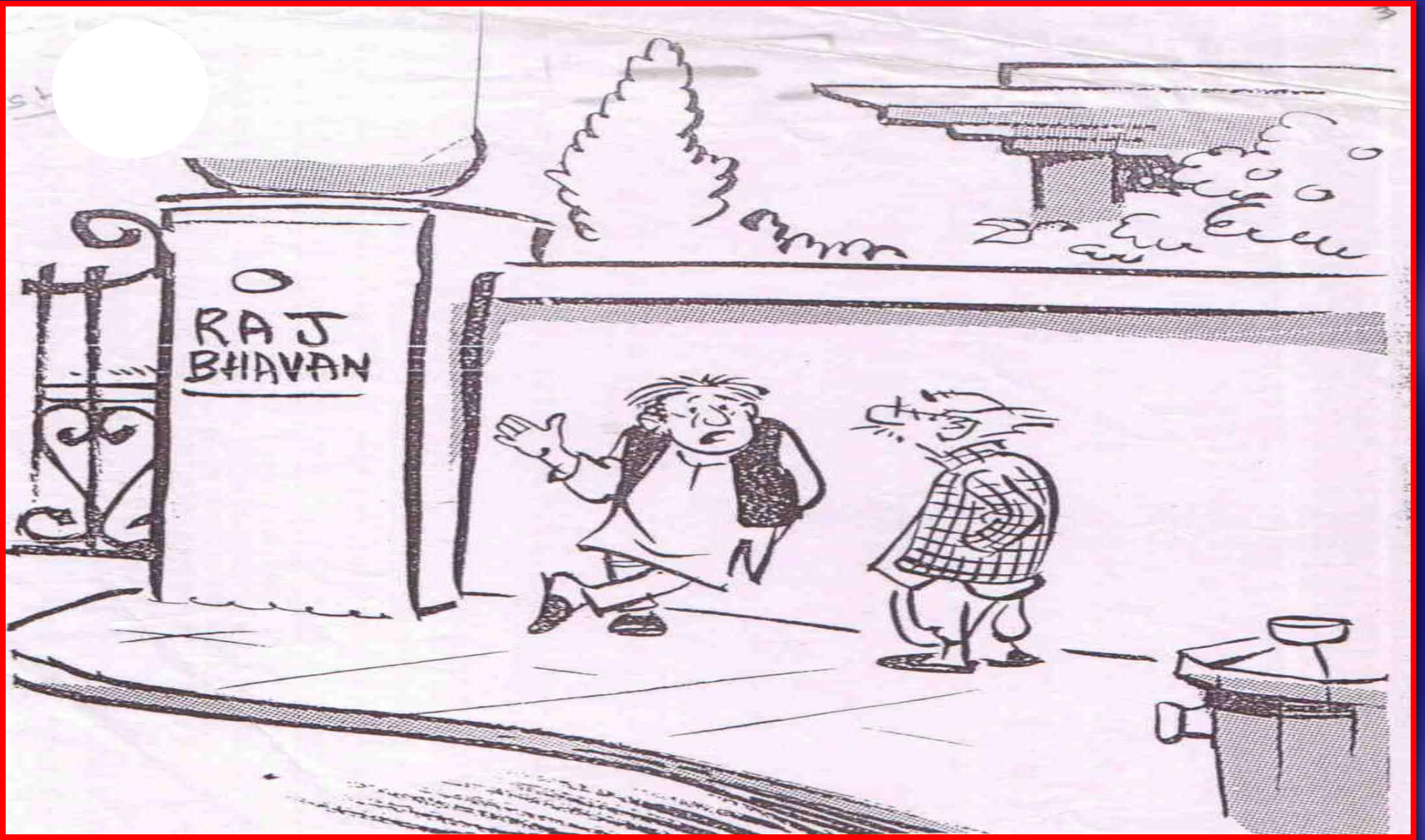


**Wiped out corruption, improved the lot of the common man, brought prosperity to plenty,
when he governed as the chief minister between 17th March, 1997 and 24th March 1997**

Courtesy : R.K. Laxman



Hold it ! Don't, don't ! I received news that he is no longer the chief minister. The opposition has just toppled him!



I had the majority support for full two days. If he had allowed me I would have formed a government by now!

Why did we opt for the British type of Parliamentary form of Democracy?

Familiarity & Respect for the British system

- **Shri B.K. Nehru** *“Furthermore, the Constituent Assembly was dominated by lawyers trained solely in the British tradition and in the British system of Law, who constituted a substantial proportion of the membership of the Assembly. Their knowledge of Constitutional law was largely confined to the horizon of the British Constitution.”*
- **Dr. K.M. Munshi** – a member of the Constituent Assembly *“We must not forget very important fact that, during the last one hundred years, Indian public life has largely drawn upon the traditions of British constitutional law. Most of us have looked to the British model as the best. After this experience, why should we go back on the tradition that has been built over a hundred years and try a novel experiment.”*

Why did the Americans choose different system?

They had much more familiarity with British Constitution than us (majority of first lot were British Immigrants)

Apprehension whether the new country will have the **prerequisites** for evolution of a genuine 2 Party system?

Answer :- No

Reason :- While the first lot of settlers were mainly from Britain, in due course there would be Immigrants from various countries of Europe such as France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, Portugal etc. each having its own identity including that of language would prefer to have its own party and ultimately, might end up with 15 or 20 different parties.

Our similarity ! – Parties formed based on Language / Regional / Religion / Caste

- Punjab – Akali Dal
- Andhra – Telugu Desam, Telangana Rashtriya Samiti
- Tamil Nadu – DMK / AIADMK / PDMK / MDMK
- Maharashtra – Shiv Sena & now MNS
- Kashmir – National Conference, P.D.P.,
- Goa – Maharashtra Gomantak Party
- Nagaland – Nagaland People's Front
- Mizoram – Mizoram National Front etc.
- Orissa – Biju Janata Dal
- Jharkand – Jharkand Mukti Morcha
- Assam – Assom Gano Parishad
- U.P. / Bihar – Caste dominant
B.S.P. (Dalit) Samajwadi Party / RJD (O.B.C./Minority)
- West Bengal – Trinamool Congress
- Evolved - a new a new system **as democratic** as the British
- But assuring **full stability** with all the **checks & balances.**

Impact of Presidential System on Party-formation (U.S. Example)

- Presently 2 major political parties viz. Republics // Democrats
- **Time to time new parties formed**
 - 1968 – Presidential Election Governor George Wallace founded American Independent Party and secured **13.5% votes (nation-wide) in Presidential Elections**
 - 1980 – Anderson contested as **3rd Party** Candidate secured – **6.6% votes**
 - **Both these parties virtually disappeared before next elections**
 - **Reasons**
 - Little Impact on the final outcome of Presidential elections
 - **No role to play after the elections**

French Example – similar story

- Between 1946 - 1958 – Parliamentary system existed like ours
- **14 – Political Parties**
- Coalitions for sharing of Power. **Differences and controversial fights between the parties. 26 Govts. in 12 years**
- New Constitution drafted by De Gaulle '**Presidential Form of Government**' approved by **79.2%** of votes in **1958**
- The total no. of parties kept on reducing since then
- Presently – 4 parties Divided in 2 main coalitions Left & Right

Comparison with our system

- Smaller parties able to play important roles after the elections
- Sometimes virtually a kingmaker's role
 - Jayalalitha – Had 21 members out of 542 in Lok Sabha – only 3.5% of total votes in the country. She virtually brought down Vajpayee Govt (1998 – 99).
 - DMK had its own way in demanding the portfolios. In spite of Rs. 1,76,000 crores (\$40 Billion) of telecom scam, DMK is still beyond question for the P.M.
 - Shiv Sena or Telugu Desam or DMK or AIADMK all are Kingmakers in their own way
- Innumerable examples can be cited
- The system encourages
 - ◆ Fragmentation
 - ◆ Defections
 - ◆ Survival of Smaller parties
 - ◆ Horse Trading

The words of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar sounds prophetic" (Memorandum to Constituent Assembly)*,

"In view of the clashes of castes and creeds there is bound to be a plethora of parties and groups in the Legislature in India. If this happens, it is possible, nay certain, that under the Parliamentary System, Executive is bound to resign upon an adverse vote in the Legislature. India may suffer from the instability of the Executive. For it is the easiest thing for groups to align and realign themselves at frequent intervals and for pretty purpose and bring about the downfall of the Government. Constant overthrow of the Government is nothing short of anarchy. The American form of executive is an equally good type of a democratic and responsible form of the Government."

* (From the notes provided by Late Shri Chimanbhai Mehta, a veteran politician and former union cabinet minister)

CABINET FORMATION & FUNCTIONING

Our Parliamentary model

v/s.

Presidential system (US model)

Our Jumbo Cabinets

1. **'Size'** determined by **'Necessity for Survival'**
(Either for Govt or for Chief Minister or Prime Minister as Individuals)
 - **New records established**
 - (i) Laloo prasad's record of **67** member cabinet in Bihar broken by
 - (ii) Kalyan Singh's cabinet of **93** members in UP
 - (iii) Haryana had **33** ministers out of **90** member house
(Ruling Party had **51** members which means for every 3 members, 2 were ministers!)
 - **Compare**
 - British Cabinet – 20 members (Tradition – No written Constitution)
 - Japanese Cabinet – 20 members (Constitution)
 - Australian Cabinet – 30 members (Constitution)
 - American cabinet – only 14 members